DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 121 927 UD 015 988

AUTHOR Foley, Linda A.
TITLE The Contact Situation and Personality Factors Influencing Blacks' Attitudes Toward Whites.
PUB DATE Mar 76
NOTE 23p.; Paper presented at the Symposium - Blacks in White America: Race Relations from a Black Perspective, at the Southeastern Psychological Association annual meeting (New Orleans, Louisiana, March 1976)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS Adoption (Ideas); *Caucasians; Change Agents; *Changing Attitudes; Cognitive Processes; Comparative Analysis; Discriminatory Attitudes (Social); Interaction; Males; Negative Attitudes; Negro Attitudes; *Negroes; Personality Assessment; *Prisoners; *Race Relations; *Racial Attitudes; Racial Factors; Racism; Self Esteem

ABSTRACT

How interracial contact affects the attitudes of blacks towards whites is explored in this study, which also delineates the personality characteristics predictive of prejudice and prejudice changes, and how these characteristics differ between blacks and whites. The sample includes 112 male inmates; 63 blacks and 49 whites, who are newly admitted to a medium security correctional institution. Over a one month period every inmate takes a series of questionnaires to assess his cognitive complexity, self esteem, attitudes toward people, and prejudice. Three weeks after his first session each then responds to a second measure of prejudice. Results indicate that initially whites are much more prejudiced than blacks. The contract situation increases prejudice in blacks and decreases it in whites. The only variable that functions the same for both races is that within each group positive attitudes toward people in general predicts a decrease in prejudice. Simple cognitive structure, highly predictive of prejudice in whites, is predictive of a low level in blacks. Low self esteem predicts a decrease in prejudice in whites, but an increase in blacks. The implementation of contact situations without adequate insight into the effects on both races is cautioned. (Author/AM)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

ED121927

The Contact Situation and Personality Factors Influencing Blacks' Attitudes Toward Whites

Linda A. Foley

University of North Florida

As part of Symposium

Blacks in White America: Race Relations from a Black Perspective

Linda A. Foley (Chair)

Southeastern Psychological Association

Presented at: New Orleans, Louisiana

March, 1976

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

UD 015 988

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to determine how interracial contact affects the attitudes of blacks toward whites. The study also delineates the personality characteristics predictive of prejudice and prejudice changes, and how these characteristics differ between blacks and whites. The subjects were 112 male inmates (63 blacks and 49 whites) newly admitted to a medium security state correctional institution. Over a period of one month, every new inmate was requested to take a series of questionnaires to assess his cognitive complexity, self esteem, attitudes toward people, and prejudice. Three weeks after his first session each subject was requested to respond to a second measure of prejudice. The data indicate that initially whites were much more prejudiced than blacks. The contact situation increased prejudice in blacks and decreased prejudice in whites. Within each group positive attitudes toward people in general predicted a decrease in prejudice. This was the only variable which functioned the same for both races. Simple cognitive structure, highly predictive of prejudice in whites, is predictive of a very low level of prejudice in blacks. Low self esteem predicted a decrease in prejudice in whites but an increase in prejudice in blacks. The author cautions the implementation of contact situations without adequate insight into the effects on both races.

Personality Characteristics and Interracial Contact as Determinants of Black Prejudice toward Whites

Racial conflict has been a major concern in our society for well over a century. However, the advent of the black militant movement and its recent increase in popularity among younger blacks has thrown a new light on race relations. The problem is no longer one of blacks trying meekly to be accepted by the dominant culture but of minority groups becoming aggressive, self-assertive, demanding, and rejecting of the dominant society. Behavioral scientists have little guidance to offer society in dealing with interracial contact under these circumstances. Social scientists have been guilty of racial chauvanism by dealing almost exclusively with white prejudice toward blacks. They have been so concerned with white acceptance of blacks that there is almost total ignorance in the area of black prejudice toward whites.

Black attitudes have undergone a drastic change from those documented by the research of the late fifties and early sixties. At that time blacks tended to identify with the social norms and values of the dominant society, even idealizing the majority group (Bayton, 1965). Frazier (1957) reported that blacks largely accepted their own inferiority. Steckler (1957) supported this finding with evidence indicating that black college students tended to accept negative stereotypes of blacks and reject negative stereotypes of whites. However, there have been many changes both in society and in the psyche of the black minority since 1957 (Banks, 1970). The civil rights movement has increased the amount of interracial contact at the same time the black awareness movement has decreased the desire of blacks to integrate with whites. Our society is faced with an impetus for racial integration without any sound documentation of how interracial contact affects black attitudes toward whites.

Although some research has dealt with environmental influences on interracial contact affecting blacks and whites (Minard, 1952; Pettigrew, 1958, 1959; Molotch, 1969; Grier & Grier, 1960), the primary emphasis has been on white attitude and behavioral changes. Thus it is necessary to look at research on white subjects for an indication of the personality variables affecting racial attitudes.

Since the classic study of the prejudiced personality, The Authoriatarian Personality (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Stanford, 1950), evidence for the relationship between cognitive structure and prejudice has rapidly accumulated. The syndrome related to a simple cognitive structure has been similarly discribed by theorists under many rubrics: authoritarianism (Adorno et al., 1950), dogmatism (Rokeach,1960), low cognitive structure (Bieri, 1955; Scott, 1962), and concrete cognitive structure (Harvey, Hunt, & Schroder, 1961). Each of these theorists describes the cognitively simple individual as tending to make extreme evaluations, having speed of closure, having a low tolerance for ambiguity, and being rigid. Although evidence of correlations between the instruments used to measure each of these constructs has been equivocal, each measure taken singularly has a consistently high rate of predictability in terms of behaviors associated with the described syndrome. Pettigrew (1958, 1959) looked at the relationship between prejudice and authoritarianism in different areas of the United States and in South Africa. He found a predictably high correlation between prejudice and authoritarianism in every area. However, he also found vast differences in the amount of prejudice in the separate areas without significant differences in the amount of authoritarianism. He concluded that socio-economic factors accounted for the differences in amount of prejudice in the areas, pointing to the relationship between authoritarianism and conformity.

Cognitive complexity, although the most well-documented, is not the only personality variable associated with prejudice. In a ten-year laboratory research project, S. W. Cook (1972) manipulated the situational characteristics of a contact situation so that all were optimal for the reduction of prejudice. In this project anti-black, white coeds were placed in a situation where it was necessary to interact with a black coed over a one-month period. At the end of the experiment, Cook compared the personality inventories of those subjects who had decreased in prejudice with those who had not changed. He found that subjects who decreased in prejudice were characterized by more negative self-concepts and more positive attitudes toward people in general. The latter result was supported by field replication of Cook's study (Foley, 1975) which indicated that those with positive attitudes toward people in general are least prejudiced to begin with and are most likely to decrease in prejudice with interracial contact.

Prior research supports the relationship between attitudes toward people in general and racial prejudice. Comparing boys who had decreased in prejudice with boys who had increased in prejudice after interracial contact, Mussen (1950) discovered that those who decreased had more positive attitudes toward their peers and their parents. Rokeach (1960) also reported a correlation between positive attitudes toward people in general and a lack of prejudice.

The purpose of the present study is to determine how interracial contact affects the attitudes of blacks toward whites. The study also explores the intrapersonal characteristics predictive of changes in prejudice and how these differ between blacks and whites. If the personality variables predictive of prejudice are the same for blacks as have been documented for whites, it can be hypothesized that:

1. Blacks who are low in complexity will be more prejudiced than blacks high in cognitive complexity.
2. Blacks with positive attitudes toward people in general will be less prejudiced initially and more likely to decrease in prejudice than blacks with negative attitudes toward people in general.
3. Blacks with negative self concepts, will be more likely to decrease in prejudice than blacks with positive self concepts.

An ideal situation for studying changes in prejudice would be one in which the individuals live in the environment but do not enter it voluntarily. Any pre-selection factor is eliminated if the subject does not enter of his own volition. Individuals who are confined to closed institutions meet this criterion and live in an equal status interracial environment. The setting for the present experiment is a maximum security state institution for males. It is a facility housing approximately 1800 inmates who have committed crimes in the southeastern state in which it is located. At the time of the study the prison population was approximately equally divided between blacks and whites.

Method

Subjects

Every new inmate admitted to the Correctional Institution between April 26, 1974 and May 27, 1974, was sent a pass requesting an interview. One-hundred-sixty men were admitted during that period. Of this number, 13 were in administrative confinement and one was in the hospital and thus were unable to participate in the study. One-hundred-twenty-eight men reported for the interview with 16 declining to answer the questionnaires, leaving a total of 112 subjects, 63 blacks and 49 whites.

Every inmate who completed the first set of questionnaires was sent a pass requesting an interview three weeks later. One-hundred-ten men were notified. Eight of these men had already been transferred to another institution and 19 others did not report for the second session of the study.* A total of 83 inmates did participate in the second session. Of these, 70 completed the questionnaires in a manner complete enough for analyses, 40 blacks and 30 whites.

Procedure

Over a period of one month every new inmate admitted to the institution was requested to take the Rating of Acquaintances Scale (a composite of Scott's Rating of Acquaintances (1966)—a measure of cognitive dimensionality, and Wrightsman's Occupational Ratings Form (1962)—a measure of self esteem and prejudice), Kiddie Mach (Christie, et al., 1973—a measure of attitudes toward people), and Rating of Types

*An analysis of the 19 inmates who did not return, leads to no conclusions about their being a special group in terms of the personality measures.

(a measure of prejudice, Foley, 1974) within one week of confinement. The inmates' names were taken from a list of the unassigned inmates which was compiled weekly.

The instruments were administered to 112 subjects in ten sessions of approximately 25-30 inmates per session. There were two sessions a day, one day a week for five weeks. The first session began at 10:30 a.m. and the second at 2:30 p.m. There were three experimenters present at each session, one male and two females. The senior experimenter was a female. The test sessions were introduced with an orientation intended to establish rapport with the inmates. The inmates were given the instructions in groups of 5 to 10 by one of the three experimenters. In several instances the questionnaire had to be individually administered to illiterate or semi-literate inmates. On one occasion the instrument had to be translated to a Cuban-American inmate who had language difficulties. The group session required 1 to 1 1/2 hours.

Three weeks after his first session each of the 110 inmates who completed the first set of questionnaires was sent a pass requesting a second interview. The second Rating of Types Scale was administered to 83 inmates in groups of 10 to 14 inmates. There were four sessions a day, one day a week, over a five week period. The sessions began at 9:30 a.m., 10:30 a.m., 1:30 p.m., and 2:30 p.m. The only exception to this was the initial testing day which had an additional session at 3:30 p.m. This last session was eliminated due to the poor response of the inmates.

The instrument required 15-25 minutes to complete. A few inmates required individual administration due to their literacy level. When the inmate completed the questionnaire he notified one of the experimenters

who would then interview him. The experimenter asked each inmate a series of specific questions followed by open ended questions about his living area and the institution. Each session required from 1 to 1 1/2 hours. The entire data collection period required seven weeks.

Results

There are three main areas into which the results of this study can be divided. The first area concentrates on the prejudice of the subjects when they first entered the institution. This section also delineates the influence of personality variables on prejudice at that point in time. The second main area of interest is the change in prejudice of the inmates and the variables predictive of change. The final section reports the results of step wise regression analyses.

Prejudice upon entering the institution.

A four-way analysis of variance was performed to determine the influence of the personality variables upon prejudice. The independent variables were: cognitive dimensionality (high and low), attitudes toward people (negative and positive), race (black and white), and self esteem (high and low). Prejudice as measured by Ratings of Acquaintances was the dependent measure.

Inmates with negative attitudes toward people in general had significantly higher mean prejudice scores than inmates with positive attitudes toward people ($p < .0035$), and white inmates had significantly higher mean prejudice scores ($p < .0583$) than black inmates. See Table 1--Analysis of variance for prejudice upon entering the institution. There was no main effect for dimensionality or self esteem. However, these variables were significant in interaction with other variables. Dimensionality was highly significant in a two-way interaction with attitudes

toward people ($p<.0325$) and a two-way interaction with race ($p<.0480$). Inmates with low dimensionality scores were highly prejudiced if they had negative attitudes toward people, but were the lowest prejudice group if they had positive attitudes toward people. There was no difference in prejudice scores between the races in the high dimensionality group ($\bar{x}$ (blacks) = 13.5, $\bar{x}$ (whites (= 13.6); however, in the low dimensionality groups the blacks had very low prejudice scores (mean = 7.55) and the whites had very high prejudice scores (mean = 21.80).

Insert Table 1 about here

Self-esteem in interaction with race was significant ($p<.056$). The low self-esteem blacks (mean = 13.71) were more prejudiced than the high self-esteem blacks (mean = 8.69), while the high self-esteem whites (mean = 22.26) were more prejudiced than the low self-esteem whites (mean = 15.24).

Results of the same analysis with prejudice as measured by Rating of Types as the dependent measure indicated results similar to those reported for Rating of Acquaintances. Inmates with negative attitudes toward people had significantly higher mean prejudice scores ($p<.0031$), and whites had significantly higher mean prejudice scores ($p<.06$) than blacks.

Prejudice Change Scores

The total subject sample (n=112) was included in a t-test analysis to determine the difference in prejudice between the races. There was no significant difference in prejudice as measured by the Rating of Types between blacks and whites by the second time period although the mean was

still higher for whites (mean = 13.5) than for blacks (mean = 8.7). There was a significant difference between blacks and whites ($p < .10$) on change in prejudice, with the mean change for blacks 1.2 and for whites -4.7.

All the black subjects who responded to both the first and the second Rating of Types questionnaire (n=38) were included in the analysis. These subjects were divided into three groups based on their prejudice change scores: subjects who decreased in prejudice (n=13), subjects who remained the same (n=9), and subjects who increased in prejudice (n=16). A series of t-tests was employed to determine if the groups differed on the predictor or dependent variables. There were no significant differences between any of the groups on any of the predictor variables. Black inmates who increased in prejudice had significantly higher mean prejudice scores on the Rating of Acquaintances scale* than those who decreased in prejudice ($p < .10$). Subjects who increased in prejudice received significantly higher mean prejudice scores as measured by Rating of Types for time period 2 than those who decreased in prejudice ($p < .01$).

Step Wise Regression Analysis

A step wise regression analysis for the entire subject sample indicated that race accounted for the largest percentage of the variance for the prejudice change scores. Therefore, this analysis was performed separately for blacks and whites.

Six variables entered the regression equation for black inmates. They combined to account for 17 percent of the variance of the prejudice change scores. See Table 2.

*This scale was administered only at the first time period.

Insert Table 2 about here

Five variables entered the regression equation for white inmates. They combined to account for 23 percent of the variance of the prejudice change scores. See Table 3.

Insert Table 3 about here

Discussion

Prejudice Upon Entering the Institution

When people enter total institutions, they reflect the norms and values of the outside culture. It is not surprising that prejudice scores of inmates upon entering the institutions indicate that whites are much more prejudiced than blacks. This prejudice is a result of personality variables and cultural variables present in society in general. Our society encourages whites in negative attitudes toward blacks and subtly teaches that blacks are inferior. Even with the advent of the "black is beautiful" movement, the effects of centuries of playing the role of subordinate are not erased. Discrimination today is still rampant and almost totally directed toward blacks by the white majority.

The emphasis of this paper is on the racial attitudes of blacks toward whites. Previous research on prejudice (Allport, 1954; Adorno et al., 1954; Martin and Westie, 1959; Pettigrew, 1959; Collins, 1970; Jones, 1972) has dealt exclusively with white subjects. Thus, the correlates of prejudice in blacks are unknown. The data of the present study indicate that not only are whites more prejudiced than blacks, but that the dynamics of prejudice are different for blacks and whites in our society. Attitudes toward people in general is the only predictive variable which functions in the same manner for both races. The hypothesis that individuals with negative attitudes toward people in general (high machiavellianism scores) are more prejudiced than those with positive attitudes toward people in general was supported. The other personality variables associated with prejudice do not have a similar effect for blacks and whites.

Low cognitive complexity is the personality variable most often shown to predict prejudice in whites. However, a correlation between cognitive structure and prejudice has not been documented for blacks. The present study indicates that the relationship between dimensionality and prejudice is reversed for blacks. A simple cognitive structure predicts an extreme evaluative judgment in both races; but knowledge of the individual's race is necessary in order to predict the direction of the judgment. Cognitively simple blacks have the lowest prejudice scores while cognitively simple whites have the highest scores. Cognitively complex individuals of both races had medium scores; there was no significant difference in prejudice scores between the complex whites and blacks. These results are most likely an indication of the relationship between simple cognitive structure and conformity (Pettigrew, 1959; Harvey, 1956). The difference in prejudice scores for blacks and whites with low cognitive complexity is probably a reflection of the norms for their subcultures. Individuals with simple cognitive structures tend to conform more to norms than those with complex cognitive structures. The norm tends to be that whites are prejudiced <u>against</u> blacks and blacks feel prejudiced in a positive direction toward whites (Stockler, 1957).

The other personality variable under consideration, self-esteem, also indicated differing dynamics for blacks and whites. Low self-esteem in blacks is predictive of high prejudice, while in whites it is predictive of lower prejudice. However, this particular result must be accepted with caution as it could be an artifact of the instrument used for measurement. The self-esteem scores were obtained from the Rating of Acquaintances Scale, which is also used as a measure of dimensionality. Both variables are based on the variance of attributes and correlate with each other at

-.37. Therefore, it would be difficult to attribute this result entirely to self-esteem. The extreme judgments of cognitively simple individuals is a more plausible explanation for this result.

Changes in Prejudice

The single most important outcome of this study is an indication that interracial contact produces a decrease in prejudice in whites and an increase in prejudice in blacks. The fact that the subjects were studied over time gives us some insight into the process associated with this increase in prejudice by blacks.

There were two measures of prejudice employed in this study: Rating of Acquaintances and Rating of Types. The differences between these scales can give us some insight into the factors influencing the change in attitudes over time. The black individuals who increased in prejudice had significantly higher scores on prejudice as measured by Rating of Acquaintances. This scale asks subjects to rate specific black and white individuals with whom they are currently interacting. The racial stimulus persons employed in the scale were ones connected with the prison environment. The black subjects were thus rating specific white individuals (inmates, correctional officers, or trustees) more negatively than specific black individuals in the same roles. Apparently those black subjects who increased in prejudice were interacting with specific white persons whom they rated on the negative end of the continuum on a variety of attributes. It would seem that this scale more accurately measures attitudes toward specific individuals than generalized prejudice. The other scale used to measure prejudice was the Rating of Types. This scale requested subjects to rate types of persons (i.e. white inmates, black inmates). Therefore, this instrument better gauges the subjects'

generalized prejudice. When the subjects entered the institution there was no difference in scores on the Rating of Types between the black inmates who increased in prejudice and those who decreased or remained the same. However, by the second time period the black inmates who increased in prejudice were significantly higher than the other two groups on prejudice. The black inmates who increased in prejudice did not differ from the other groups on any of the personality variables. The only way the groups differed was that those who increased in prejudice had interactions with white individuals whom they evaluated in a negative manner. A plausible explanation for these results is that interaction with white individuals with undesirable qualities led to a generalization of negative rating of whites in general.

The results of this study indicate that a very important aspect of race relations has been neglected in past research, namely, the effect of interracial contact on blacks. Not only is the amount of prejudice different in blacks than in whites, but also some personality characteristics predictive of prejudice are actually reversed.

Segregation is still a fact of life in the United States. Where integration has been imposed, the primary consideration has been its effect on white prejudice toward blacks. The fund of information gathered by social scientists about prejudice is limited to white prejudice toward blacks. This indicates an underlying assumption that the factors associated with prejudice in blacks are either the same as in whites or not necessary to study. The latter assumption reflects a chauvinistic view that blacks are only too happy to integrate with whites in our society. The results of this study indicate that much more concern should be shown

for the effect of integration on blacks. It would appear than negative experiences with specific whites create prejudice directed toward all whites. The increase in black prejudice after contact with whites demonstrates that integration without proper preparation and planning could be creating more problems than it is alleviating.

References

Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D. J., and Sanford, R. N. The Authoritarian Personality. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950.

Allport, G. W. The Nature of Prejudice. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1954.

Banks, W. M. The changing attitudes of black students. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1970, 48, 739-745.

Bieri, J. Cognitive complexity-simplicity and predictive behavior. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1955, 51, 263-268.

Christie, R. and others. Machiavellianism. In R. Robinson and R. Shaver (Eds.), Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, 1973, 590-602.

Collins, B. E. Social Psychology. Reading, Mass.: Addison Wesley, 1970.

Cook, S. W. Motives in a conceptual analysis of attitude-related behavior. In J. Brigham and T. Weissbach (Eds.), Racial Attitudes in America. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.

Deutsch, M. and Collins. Interracial Housing: A Psychological Evaluation of a Social Experiment. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951.

Foley, L. A. Personality and situational influence on changes in prejudice: a replication of Cook's railroad game in a prison setting. Manuscript submitted for publication, 1975.

Foley, L. A. Personality and situational influences on changes in prejudice. Unpublished, doctoral dissertation, University of Florida, 1974.

Frazier, E. F. Black bourgeoise. New York: Collier, 1957.

Grier, E. and Grier, G. Privately Developed Interracial Housing. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960.

Harvey, O. J., Hunt, D. E., and Schroder, H. M. Conceptual Systems and Personality Organization. New York: Wiley, 1961.

Jones, J. M. Prejudice and Racism. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1972.

Martin, J. G. and Westie, F. R. The tolerant personality. American Psychological Review, 1959, 24, 521-528.

Minard, R. D. Race relations in the Pocahontas coal field. Journal of Social Issues, 1952, 8, 29-44.

Molotch, H. Racial Integration in a transition community. American Sociological Review, 1969, 34, 378-393.

Mussen, P. H. Some personality and social factors related to changes in children's attitudes toward Negroes. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1950, 45, 423-441.

Pettigrew, T. F. Personality and socio-cultural factors in intergroup attitudes: a cross-national comparison. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1958, 2, 29-42.

Pettigrew, T. F. Regional differences in anti-Negro prejudice. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1959, 59, 28-36.

Rokeach, M. The Open and Closed Mind. New York: Basic Books, 1960.

Scott, W. A. Cognitive complexity and cognitive valance. Sociometry, 1963, 26, 66-74.

Scott, W. A. Flexibility, rigidity, and adaptation: toward a clarification of concepts. In O. J. Harvey (Ed.), Experiences, structure, and adaptibility, New York: Springer, 1966.

Steckler, G. Authoritarian ideology in Negro college students. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1957, 54, 396-399.

Table 1

Analysis of Variance for Prejudice Upon Entering Institution

Source	DF	Sequential SS	F Value	Prob F
D	1	731.68	0.05495	0.8153
M	1	93716.59	7.03871	0.0098
R	1	87394.84	6.56391	0.0125
S	1	1080.09	0.08112	0.7766
DxM	1	40623.67	3.05110	0.0849
DxR	1	101103.66	7.59353	0.0074
DxS	1	30035.49	2.25586	0.1375
MxR	1	14000.15	1.05150	0.3086
MxS	1	2576.76	0.19353	0.6613
RxS	1	50397.87	3.78520	0.0556
DxMxR	1	18370.90	1.37977	0.2440
DxRxS	1	29258.71	2.19752	0.1426
DxMxS	1	21107.70	1.58532	0.2121
MxRxS	1	1330.55	0.09992	0.7528
DxMxRxS	1	14244.74	1.06987	0.3044

Table 2

Stepwise Regression Analysis of Predictor Variables for Black Inmates on Prejudice Changes

Variable	Simple Correlation	Multiple Correlation
Living Area	.208	.208
Machiavellianism	.200	.273
Self Esteem	-.192*	.321
Dimensionality (ROA)	.116	.368
Dimensionality (ROT)	-.038	.385
Percent Own Race	-.070	.409

*A high score indicates low self esteem

Table 3

Step Wise Regression Analysis of Predictor Variables for White Inmates on Prejudice Change

Variable	Simple Correlation	Multiple Correlation
Self Esteem	.284*	.284
Percent Own Race	-.223	.348
Living Area	-.095	.423
Dimensionality (ROT)	-.106	.478
Dimensionality (ROA)	.015	.483

*A high score indicates low self esteem